UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

"Freedom"

By JESSE H. HOLMES

The Shame of the Near East

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Church Prophetic

By ROBERT WHITAKER

VOLUME XC NUMBER 3

Chicago, October 5, 1922

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

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ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago. WM. C. GANNETT, St. Paul.
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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCES L. ROBBINS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XC THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1922 NUMBER 3

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW.

Dreaming, still dreaming!
Yes, a few dream,
Mindless of wreckage,—
Led by the Gleam.

Strife must be vanished,
Else the world ends.
Men must be brothers,
Nations be friends.

Earth gives in bounty—
Marvelous, rare!
All might have plenty,
None need go bare.

Youth hears the summons
Manhood to raise;
His is the future!
His be the praise!

Courage, O dreamers,
Much is at stake.
Though light comes slowly
Morning will break.

Rise to the triumph,
Mount the hard hill,
Share in the glory,
Men of good will!...

Dreaming, still dreaming!
Yes, a few dream,
Mindless of wreckage,—
Led by the Gleam.

JAMES HARCOURT WEST.

Years ago there was a familiar saying in this country about "the smile that won't come off." That's the kind of smile that UNITY is carrying these days. It began when Senator New, the White House darling, was soundly beaten by Mr. Beveridge in the Indiana primaries. It widened when the Pennsylvania machine was smashed by Gifford Pinchot. It became a grin when Senator McCumber, arch-champion of the Tariff, the Bonus, the Ship Subsidy, and every other abomination of special privilege, was snowed under in North Dakota by Gov. Frazier, of Non-Partisan League fame. We began to snicker when Representative Campbell, chairman of the Committee on Rules in the House, was thrashed, and Representative Fordney ponderously announced his retirement. We laughed outright when Senator Reed defeated the Wilson forces in Missouri, and Hiram Johnson walked away from his reactionary opponent in California. And no words can describe our gales of inextinguishable laughter when the news arrived that Senator La Follette, pacifist, pro-German, traitor, Bolshevik, had carried the Wisconsin primaries by the largest majority in the history of American politics. As such mirth could not continue without exhaustion, paralysis, epilepsy or actual death, it was an inexpressible relief when we were able to subside into a sardonic smirk when Senator Lodge, chief assassin of the League of Nations, quietly brushed aside his opponent in Massachusetts. One smirk is enough, however. We want to smile and laugh in healthy, open fashion. So we live in anticipation of "innocent merriment" when the election returns are announced this fall. When we take up the newspaper on the day after election, we expect to suffer the hilarious fate of Holmes's servant in his poem, "The Height of the Ridiculous."

. . . . . .

At the first line he read, his face
Was all upon the grin.

He read the next; the grin grew broad,
And shot from ear to ear;
He read the third; a chuckling noise
I now began to hear.

The fourth—he broke into a roar;
The fifth—his waistband split;
The sixth—he burst five buttons off,
And tumbled in a fit.

Now that the coal strike and the railroad strike are settled, and the work of salvaging the ruin caused by these two events is far advanced, it may be well to raise again the question, Who gains anything by a strike? Surely not that great inchoate mass of unfortunates known as the general public—they always lose, and lose everything. What about the employers? Basic with them, in every strike, of course, is the loss of profits, damage to property, and the enormous costs incident to the fight. If now, in addition, they "lose the strike," as the coal operators are said to have lost, there is nothing at all to show on the credit side of the ledger. If they win, as the railroads are said to have won, it is only to see every apparent gain swallowed up in the fact that they receive back a group of disappointed and disaffected employees who will strike again for the same cause the moment another opportunity offers. The same thing is true of the workers. The certain losses of even a successful strike are colossal—millions of dollars in wages, millions of dollars from the union treasury for strike benefits, legal expenses, etc., and all those intangible personal liabilities of death, injury and depleted health. If, now, they "lose the strike," as the railroad shopmen lost their strike, the tragedy is complete; they take up work

where they laid it down, with shattered homes, an empty treasury, and a broken union. If, on the other hand, they win, it is only to return to slightly improved conditions of labor which remain in essence so unjust, that the workers are only bound afresh to servitude and misery. The strike, as conducted here in America, is wholly wasteful. It brings only evil, and no good, to all parties concerned. It touches nothing fundamental; it is directed to no permanently constructive end. Like a pestilence, it ravages, weakens and destroys. It may be replied that the strike is the only weapon labor has at its command. To which we reply in turn, Not so! *Organization* is labor's one great weapon, and this can be put to infinitely better uses than the violent and wasteful strike.

President Harding is once again bestowing his gracious favors of mercy, for, as his friends are so eager to tell us, he has a kindly heart. This time he grants pardon to a German spy, a man named Robert Fay, who came to this country, as an agent of the German government, to interfere with the successful prosecution of the war. Fay's specialty was explosives—his offense was an attempt to blow up a ship. Discovered and arrested, he was condemned to eight years in prison—not ten years, or twenty years or twenty-five years, as in the case of conscientious objectors and political offenders—but eight years! Even this sentence, however, is excessive—a "cruel and unusual punishment" for a crime which, had it been successful, would have wiped out valuable property and destroyed hundreds of lives. So the President pardons Fay, and sends him happily back to his native land! It is a gracious deed, sustained by excellent official precedent, for President Wilson, we remember, did the same. Meanwhile, the seventy-five I. W. W. prisoners in Leavenworth, not one of whom is guilty of a violent act, all imprisoned merely for holding opinions contrary to the will of government, are still behind the bars! Every petition for the pardon of these men is denied—The logic of such an anomaly is obvious—Mr. Harding is more than ordinarily stupid if he thinks this logic cannot be read! It is this—there is only one unpardonable crime in America to-day, and that is uncompromising opposition to the existing economic order of society. A man may murder his enemy, rob the corner cigar-store, run off with his neighbor's wife, forge a check, sell shoddy shoes or adulterated food, make bogus contracts with government, lynch "niggers," slander Jews, blow up ships in war-time—and, sooner or later, be mercifully pardoned. But if a man is a Communist, an I. W. W., a Bolshevik, or even a Socialist, and dares to say so, he is given a sentence that would shame the old-time Czar, and is denied all hope of pardon. There is exaggeration in this statement, but it is in substance true. And yet we slobbering hypocrites talk about the tyranny of Moscow!

Rudyard Kipling's now famous jibe against America for entering the Great War too late and getting out of it too early, threatens to supersede the question of who started the war by the equally interesting question of who ended it. One would think that competition for the honor of stopping the conflict would be as hot as competition for the dishonor of inaugurating it is reluctant. But not so! No sooner does Kipling charge, in true imperialistic style, that the United States was guilty of the monstrous offense of bringing about the November armistice, and thus preventing a triumphant march to Berlin (and incidentally preventing the deaths of hundreds of thousands of young men who are now alive!) than newspapers and politicians tumble over one another to disprove the indictment. It was not America that stopped the war, we are furiously told, but France. General Pershing and General Bliss and Colonel House were opposed to granting the armistice, but Marshal Foch and Premier Clemenceau insisted. All of which, in our judgment, is to the credit of France and the discredit of America! If anything is now plain, it is that the Great War should never have been begun; once begun, it should never have been continued; once continued, it should have been participated in by no nation that had regard for the interests of humanity. The crime is not that the war was stopped when it was, but that it was not stopped much earlier—in 1917, 1916, or even 1915. The tragedy of America's entrance into the struggle was not that she entered too late, but that she entered at all and thus added fuel to a fire which was burning itself out and would have inevitably extinguished itself in the spring of 1917. It is to the honor of America that she had any share in precipitating the armistice, and that it was on terms nobly defined by President Wilson that this armistice was granted. We wish Kipling's charges were true, and stand aghast at men who take satisfaction in proving them to be false.

Harvard College seems determined to keep the Jewish question alive. Her latest questionnaire for applicants for admission, defended as a simple attempt to secure statistical information, arouses suspicion and resentment because it follows lines identical with those adopted by other institutions which have excluded Jews. The Harvard authorities wax indignant at the charge that they are moved by anti-Semitic ideas and policies, but they have nobody but themselves to blame for the accusations brought against them. For if they are sincere in their declaration that they have no prejudice against the Jews and have no intention of excluding them from the college, they can so easily do the right thing! They can keep unchanged the traditional policy of the years gone by. They can refuse to ask questions about race, religion and family history. They can take a boy as a boy, on his own intellectual merits, and give him what he wants and

needs—an education. What difference does it make whether an applicant for admission to Harvard is a Gentile or a Jew, a Catholic or a Protestant, of native or immigrant stock? Of what concern are these facts to a *college?* They may be of interest, even of vital importance, to a census bureau, a statistical agency, a health department, a newspaper. But a college has to do with mental processes, it exists to impart information about facts and methods to untrained intellects—and in this field, questions of race, religion, nationality, do not, and should not, intrude. A college, if true to its appointed mission, has a right to ask only two questions of the boy who comes knocking at its gates. First, does this boy need instruction; secondly, does this boy possess the preliminary training and equipment necessary for progress in this institution? If so, let him come in! At bottom, this whole problem is immensely simple. *Is Harvard a college, or is it a social club?* Even a social club, if it were truly social, would not exclude Jews. But such a club at least has rights of perversity, prejudice and persecution, which a college cannot claim.

UNITY is human, like every paper or person, and therefore finds comfort in the vindication of its opinions and prophecies. Two years ago, a Mr. Hickson came to the Episcopalian churches of this country, after great reported successes elsewhere, to conduct a healing mission. He appeared under distinguished ecclesiastical auspices—in New York, at Trinity Church—great crowds assembled to hear him, and his cures were widely reported as many and miraculous. Mr. Hickson's doctrines and methods were those of all faith-healers which have been since the beginning of the world. He declared that all diseases are curable by faith, and himself undertook to cure all diseases by prayer and laying on of hands. At the height of his campaign, we ventured to state in these columns our unbelief. Nay, we went further and protested against the use of the churches for superstitious practices of this kind, which we affirmed to be unsound in theory and dangerous in their effects. Promptly we were taken to task by some of our readers, who accused us of ignorance, scepticism and intolerance. Now comes our vindication! Sober second thought has inevitably brought a restoration of common-sense, and Mr. Hickson and his ministry are no longer as popular as they were. Indeed, the recent Protestant Episcopal convention had to take cognizance of the situation and sanction healing only with drastic reservations. Meanwhile the *Churchman,* one of the most fearless of religious journals, states some plain facts:

"Mr. Hickson's theory," it says, "and his practice based upon the theory, that all diseases are curable by faith and prayer, are flatly contradicted by everything that our best medical authorities know and believe."

Again,

we do not hesitate to say that Mr. Hickson's doctrine is highly dangerous.

Still again,

his method of filling churches with the lame, the halt and the blind, of stirring hopes which in the majority of cases cannot be realized, must be condemned. Nemesis follows swiftly. With the disappearance of Mr. Hickson, the churches empty, and, we venture to think, the interests of religion have, on the whole, not benefited.

Lastly, as a final clincher!

We dislike greatly to seem to oppose the work of a good and honest man, but goodness and earnestness are not enough; they must be supplemented by that organized common sense which goes by the name of Knowledge and Science.

We do not believe that the late W. H. Hudson, dead August 18th, was "one of the four greatest living English writers," as set forth by Ford Madox Hueffer in a recent issue of *The Yale Review,* any more than we believe that Joseph Conrad and George Moore are two of the other three. Such criticism is not criticism at all, but intellectual eccentricity. Nevertheless, Hudson was a charming writer, a true artist, and his passing a distinct loss to English letters. "The man (had) a magic" about him, as Heywood Brown has pointed out; and Hildegarde Hawthorne refers to this same mystic quality when she speaks of one of his books as "casting a spell over you." Especially was this true, of course, in his nature writings. Here Hudson was unquestionably pre-eminent among all the writers of his time. His keen and scientifically accurate observation, his sensitive feeling, his imagination and sympathy, combined, with the witchery of his literary style, to place him among the greatest of the authors who have taken God's open air for their especial theme. He belongs in the great tradition with Gilbert White, Henry David Thoreau, and John Burroughs. That he had to wait so long for recognition even among his peers, and now after his death is still unknown to the great mass even of the intelligent reading public, is a curious commentary on the literary standards provided by our boasted culture. Do we really know who our great writers are? Does anything but advertising guide our judgments or determine our tastes? It is doubtful if good work is ever wholly lost. Sooner or later the best is discovered, as witness Francis Thompson, Samuel Butler, and our own Melville. But why is it so often later rather than sooner?

Another distinguished Englishman, recently dead, is Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. But unlike Hudson, Blunt was a writer only by chance, or "on the side," so to speak. He was distinctly an amateur in the literary field; but even so, wrote excellent verse, some few pieces of which have found their way into the standard anthologies. He will longest be remembered, however, by his "Diary," published two years ago, in which is revealed one of the most striking personali-

ties of his time. Born and bred an aristocrat, heir to the rich estate of Crabbet Park, Sussex, owner of famous horses, possessor of great wealth, sportsman, traveler, diplomat, scholar, musician, he was throughout his life the relentless critic of every opinion, the aggressive opponent of every interest, characteristic of the upper-class society in which he moved. He was a thorough-going radical, in the more old-fashioned, individualistic sense of that word—an "irreconcilable" on every political and social issue of his day. He hated imperialism with a deadly hatred, and championed the cause of every subject and exploited people from Ireland and Egypt to India and South Africa. His espousal of the Irish cause won him a prison sentence. He flung himself on the side of the Egyptian Nationalists when Ismail, the Khedive, refused in 1879 to pay interest on the public debt. He waxed wroth on the South African question, and wished heartily that Jameson and his fellow-"blackguards" might be hanged. He opposed the Boer War from start to finish; and of course, when the Great War came along, sensed at once its imperialistic character, and refused to have anything to do with it. Blunt was a man who, in his highmindedness, unflinching courage, uncompromising idealism, showed the English spirit at its best. It is such men, appearing in every generation, who persuade us never wholly to despair of England.

"Freedom"

Mr. Harding states that freedom to labor is a fundamental right of all, and that all interference with that right must be sternly dealt with. Probably no one would have the temerity to dissent from this formula; but there may be wide difference of opinion as to what constitutes such interference. The president refers, of course, to the attempts of organized labor to prevent the taking over of their jobs by strike-breakers. But this is only an insignificant case of interference with the right to labor as compared with that enshrined under our laws as "vested interests." Let us all agree at once that strikers should not use violence to prevent others from taking their jobs, and that it is the duty of organized society represented in government to protect those who take their jobs. All that is very simple and very elementary, and cannot be said to even touch the fundamental right of a man to labor.

For there is never any lack of jobs, and never will be until the world is so full of people that there is no room for any more, or until every man, woman and child has everything that he wants. Now the first of these conditions is very far off, and the second is inconceivable. People sometimes say that the world has too many people in it, but as a matter of fact you could give every family in the world—counting five to a family and one and a half billion people—three acres, from land already rated as farm land in the United States, and leave all the waste land and the forest land untouched: and that is more than the average Japanese family has today. So there is really plenty of room in the world for several times its present total population. If the people would adjust themselves to each other there would be no necessity for pushing and shoving each other.

As for all wants being supplied it is just at those times when unemployment is greatest that wants—and therefore jobs—are most numerous. Who is it then, that denies to men the freedom to labor which is a right so fundamental? There can be only one answer: it is those who control the opportunity to labor and refuse it to the unemployed. It is this "ownership" of the chance to work that is the real denial of freedom to work.

The writer was born west of the Mississippi when the prairie schooners still made sail across the plains. They trailed slowly past millions of unused acres to find distant other unused acres where they could turn the brown earth with their plows. They passed fertile and well watered fields untilled and unsown, to till and sow in arid and uncertain lands remote from any market.—Why? Every one who lived on the frontier remembers the anxious crowds of land seekers who laid their longing hands on the most available farms until all were gone, and that not nearly all of them wanted to farm the farms.

These adventurers knew that the real farmers were coming and they hastened to "own" the land, so the farmers would have to buy of them; or trail further west and fare worse. Thus would-be workers had to pay toll to an exploiter before they could go to work. The government tried to protect the farmer. The law soon required a period of residence, a horse, so many acres tilled, so many trees planted; and then the exploiter set up his box, tilled or planted his minimum and sold to the farmer as before. Of course the exploiter was not consciously preying upon the farmer. It was the game set by the law by which one could grasp at the natural wealth of the world, and they played the game set, as we all do. The land was so great that it seemed we could never use it all, and it was so rich that it could make many rich before its wealth was exhausted. But today, although we do not *use* it all—or a third of it—it is all owned and its wealth discounted; so that no man can work on its unused acres without sharing the wealth he produces, with some one who does no more than collect his share for allowing the work to be done. And the situation is essentially the same when the actual farmer owns the farm he works. He gets the product of his labor during his active years; but when he retires and

the next man is ready to take the land, the latter must share his earnings with the original owner. The earning power of the land is capitalized and all future farmers must climb this barrier before they can win anything for themselves. Thus appears the tenant farmer, growing in number with every decade and now approaching half of our total farming population. Every tenant must not only support himself and his family, but also wholly or in part, another family for the privilege of supporting his own. This is not a criticism of the farmer-owner, but of the system, which ultimately bears with increasing weight upon every farmer who farms farms, instead of farming farmers.

As with farm land so in greater measure with the mineral lands, the oil lands, the water power lands, the timber lands, and above all the city lands. The prospector patrolled the mountains and searched out the secrets of the under world, not primarily to work them, but to set a price on allowing others to work them. And this control of the right to work them, has been reduced to the form of stocks and bonds and sold in the markets everywhere. So the user of oil, and coal, and silver and gold is everywhere and always obliged to pay not only for digging and boring, for lifting and carrying, but also for the privilege of having the digging, boring, lifting and carrying done. And since we must needs have it done the price for allowing the work to be done tends to rise more and more. We do not get cheaper coal when improved methods and machinery, and better transportation makes production easier. On the contrary we pay more, for the charge for the privilege to labor grows even more rapidly. The coal strike illustrates this condition to perfection. What the "owners" own is not the coal. It would be ridiculous to assert that anyone or any number could "own" the coal which the Lord packed away for the use of men. What they own is control of the right to mine coal, and they decide that miners and their families must live far below the grade of comfort and decency, in order to pay for the privilege of mining coal. Of course this would not work if it were possible to turn to other coal deposits not in use. So the coal owners unite to control all available coal lands—not to use them but to keep them from being used.

Probably the most extreme example of the scramble to control possible jobs is found in the real estate business, and especially in dealing in town lots. Let it appear that a town, a city, or a city suburb is likely to grow and at once a swarm appears of prospectors to buy and sell, not the land but the control of the use of it. We have all known men to grow rich over night by lucky guesses as to which town lots would be needed in industry and then by holding up the industry for a price. Of course these are perfectly respectable and honorable men. They merely play the game society sets for them, as we all do. But it is a bad game for society,—a stupid game,—and we should change the rules of the game.

The control of opportunities to labor is at the bottom of nearly all of our industrial troubles. The steel worker can work only for the steel trust, since it controls in one way or another, every job of his kind. The meat packers combine publicly, or in secret by a "gentleman's agreement," and any one who wants a job must get his admission ticket to a job from them and pay the price. The railroads, the oil companies, the bankers, the commercial trusts all play the same game. Today no mere man *can* exercise his "right to work," for every opportunity to work is owned by someone, who may therefore fix his own share of the results of the labor he permits. As a result the unskilled laborer in this country gets wages which are entirely inadequate to support a family in health and decency. And when he combines with his fellows to enforce a fairer arrangement by leaving the opportunity idle for a time, his interference with another who would accept the proffered wage is "interference with freedom of labor."—So it is!—Lord help us—So it is!—and most reprehensible.

JESSE H. HOLMES.

The Shame of the Near East

Now that the ashes of Smyrna are cooled and its dead buried, and the menace of another world war for the moment apparently removed, it may be well to set down, in as concise form as possible, some facts about the Near East horror which have been pretty successfully obscured by the daily press. The New York *World* and a few other intelligent and fearless newspapers, as well as the radical journals generally, have pubished the truth, but this is still largely hidden in the chaos and confusion of a vast upheaval of disaster.

The facts are these—

(1) The war between Greece and Turkey is in reality a war between England and France.

(2) Greece went to war at the suggestion and with the support of the English government; the Turks, under the triumphant Mustapha Kemal, went to war with the support, the ammunition and the guns of France.

(3) England rushed troops and warships, to defend Constantinople and the Dardanelles, because her arms—i.e., the Greeks—were beaten; France remained inactive and unexcited, not because she was more wise and less militaristic than England, but because her arms—i.e., the Turks—were victorious, and she could therefore afford to stand pat.

(4) England and France are now rivals after the Great War, just as England and Germany were rivals

before the Great War. These two nations will plunge Europe into another "world war" whenever, to either side, the hour seems to be propitious.

(5) Asia Minor is the center of disturbance because of the gross injustice done to Turkey, in the Treaty of Sèvres, by the victorious Allies.

(6) The talk of Greece about "a holy war" to save the Christian world from the Moslem, the appeal of the English cabinet to the dominions across the seas to join hands in protecting civilization again from the barbarians, is the same kind of "bunk" that was foisted upon mankind at the outbreak of the war against Germany; this crisis, like the crisis of 1914, is purely imperialistic, and has no remotest connection with Christianity, civilization, democracy, or any other genuine humanitarian interest.

(7) The dreadful Turkish atrocities, reported from Asia Minor, are just like the dreadful German atrocities reported from Belgium and France in 1914 and 1915. Some of them undoubtedly took place, for atrocities invariably accompany war. Of these, we may be sure that the Greek Christians committed quite as many as the Turkish Moslems; says Mark O. Prentiss, special representative of the Near East Relief in Smyrna,

> I hear and firmly believe many stories of Greek atrocities, and I have abundant evidence that the Greek army distributed enormous quantities of ammunition among the civilians in Smyrna, and encouraged and organized sniping and bombing.

Of all these tales, however, the majority are sheer imagination or deliberate invention. Thus, in the sack and burning of Smyrna, a city of about 375,000 population, it was reported on the first day that 120,000 were killed. That this number was later reduced to 2,000, and later still to 1,000, only proves the truth of our assertion.

(8) The dead in Asia Minor, like the dead in Flanders, are the innocent victims of an ignorant and cruel imperialism. They died to serve the interests of gold and steel and oil, and therefore "died in vain."

(9) Europe today is governed by the same men, controlled by the same forces, as those which were dominant in 1914. The "next war" is definitely and swiftly on the way.

When, or if, this "next war" comes, will the people be duped again as they were duped before? Will they again take up arms, and again fight and kill and die, for no purpose of imaginable good? Or will they revolt and say—and mean what they say!—"Never again"? There were at first encouraging signs in England that the people, especially labor, would refuse to follow the Coalition Cabinet in its mad career. But how long did these signs last? Within three days, a New York *World* signed despatch gave the cheerful news, that there was a complete change of front.

> "Nothing more is heard from labor," wrote the correspondent, "of 'not a gun, not a man, not a ship,' the stubborn slogan so popular three days ago. Instead is published a series of statements by labor leaders placing the necessity of maintaining the freedom of the Dardanelles as the main plank in labor's platform. . . It is also noted that the elaborate preparations for a great nation-wide protest of labor against war have been quietly halted. . . In fact, war feeling is growing."

The same old story! The Great War not four years gone, and the world all ready for another fight! "How long, O Lord, how long?"

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Across the Pacific

Editorial Correspondence.

I went last night to one of the large homes in Kew—an important suburb of Melbourne, where there was held a meeting of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I found there a group of twenty people, drawn together for a discussion of "War and Christianity." Among those present were two Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Griffin, formerly of Oak Park, Chicago, who however have thrown in their lot with Australia. Mr. Griffin is one of the leading architects of the country, having been drawn here 8 or 10 years ago because of his winning a prize ($50,000, I think) for the best plans for the brand new capital, at Canberra; the plans covering buildings, grounds, etc. Mrs. Griffin is a highly intelligent companion of her husband in the work.

Bishop Paul Jones, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in America, would have enjoyed the meeting immensely. The main speakers were two young people, Miss Florence M. Young and Mr. J. W. Robinson, who have just returned from the World's Students' Christian Federation, held in Peking, China, in April. They have returned deeply impressed with the ability and character of the students of China (some traveling six weeks to attend), of India and Japan. They found themselves often embarrassed in attempting to explain the deeds of Britain and Europe and America, in the Orient.

The Conference was held at Tsing Hua College, which is built of indemnity money that America returned to China, at time of the Boxer revolt. I was interested in the impression these young Australians received from the American delegates. They said that the "younger Americans" were sympathetic with peace programs looking toward lining up the churches for a warless world. As to some of the "older" American delegates, they thought they were too conservative; that Mr. Mott was letting the chariot of progress get ahead of him. It was their impression that the American Y. M. C. A. work in China was too closely identified with the business interests of America, and that the students of China felt this keenly. The Y. W. C. A. however was keeping itself more in touch with the fast developing and advancing life of the people.

There were several interesting side-conferences, they said. One was when the Koreans invited the Japanese delegate to discuss their differences. One of the Korean delegates had been previously imprisoned by the Japanese. Another, when the Indian students invited the British for a straight talk over British ag-

gressions. The Indians were all warm admirers of Mr. Gandhi and asked why British Christians did not sympathize with a man who was clearly seeking to realize the Christ-ideal. Again, the Chinese students had a heart to heart talk with the British over the opium traffic and other offenses. Then the Chinese had a *tete-a-tete* with the Japanese, and wanted to know about the wherefore of things.

An unfortunate event occurred when the Indian delegates were returning home. They had been splendidly treated by the Chinese, and others; in the atmosphere of friendship, equality and sincerity, but when they reached Hongkong—British territory—the officials subjected them to a gruelling examination. It seems that under-cover men had spied (spies are the spiders of our paganism) on their movements and words in China, and now they were subject to degrading treatment—in their own Empire! One of the Australian delegates was entertained by some of the Indians at Hongkong, but the function was not permitted to be brought off in the public dining room! The British—and America seems to be tagging fast behind Britain—seem possessed to lose empire by nasty and unnecessary discourtesies.

One striking event marked the China Conference. The delegates found it impossible to agree over what Christianity is, and also over what Christianity has to declare about war, when one of the Chinese leaders suggested that if Christians who had been trying so long to introduce Christianity to China, could not determine what Christianity is and what it has to say about war, they would better remain at home until they found out! The curtain lectures of the Occident by the Orient are just starting!

Mr. Griffin gave me a bit of information, which I wish UNITY would send on to the White House or to Mr. Hoover. Under the 3 per cent immigration law, Australian architects coming to the United States to study and complete their training are permitted to remain only six months and to agree not to take on contracts while in the States. Result: Architects who would come to America are going to Britain. "You know what that means," said Mr. Griffin. "The architect is practically the purchasing agent and the architect naturally buys in that country, with whose products he has been made familiar, in his studies."

Two ideas occurred to me while at the meeting last night, which I hope will reach the "King's Chamber." Maybe, some reader will mark it and send it to Washington. For the peace of North America, everything should be done on the part of the United States to cultivate friendship with Canada. The U. S. government could afford to spend millions in this line. There are some I fear (not a majority) among the leaders of Britain's policy who would not object to seeing Canada as the Ulster of America and who might work to this end; for some Britishers find in the discords of other lands their opportunity. In trade, politics, friendship—for the peace of North America—let the United States go far for friendship with Canada.

The other thought, For the peace of the world let America set her face like a flint against conflict with Japan. There are not wanting some British leaders who would regard it good for the Empire, should Japan and America join in war. Of course, there is hardly the shadow of a cause for such conflict. Every reason is on the side of long continual peace. It is impossible for me to conceive what is in the brain of any American (not to say Christian) who will not put his foot down hard on the merest suggestion. In going into such a war, America could only pile up more debts, lose her world trade, and the dollar might easily take a toboggan slide down into the financial chaos where the proud German mark went. If Germany was a fool in going to war, America would be a double-dyed fool! Anyway, I hope America will not be knave and ass to please some of her commercial competitors. America is now leading the world in some particulars. Why throw away the reins, and lash the steeds of war in order to have a drunken spree? If America should be drawn into conflict with Japan, one would be justified in concluding that governments were imbecile, or insane or degenerate, or all three. SYDNEY STRONG.

The Joy of Life

VIII.

The final hope for democracy must be, not in its letter law, but in its leadership. The day must come when the people's trust must be less in law and more in men. In the last analysis, the main test that will determine the survival of democracy will be its capacity for the wise selection of men—men sufficient in character and wisdom to be trusted with the powers of the state.

Readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* will recall these three significant sentences which I have quoted from George W. Alger's recent article on "The Letter Law and the Golden Rule." When I first read these lines I could not but draw a very striking contrast—the contrast brought out by putting over against the principle expressed by this New York lawyer, the one which was elaborately expounded to me the last time I visited my favorite barber shop:

"It don't make no dif. who you vote for," said Steve, as he lathered my face. "They are all a bunch of crooks. Every one is out for what he can get. I don't blame them none. I'd do the same—get all I could. Why not? Everybody is doing it."

A deep seated concern in the future of a great institution—democracy; an ardent faith in the ability of human nature to achieve its highest urge—character; a creative effort to serve civilization through teaching society to place its political interests in the hands of its noblest men: These are the doctrines which Mr. Alger would foster; these, as over against self-aggrandizement, debasement of character, and total disregard of humanity's future welfare. How strong the contrast! Yet Mr. Alger stands not alone in his championship of intelligent and trustworthy leadership for the state.

I was deeply impressed during a conversation with a friend of mine who is a clergyman, when he asserted, in a tone heavy with feeling and conviction, that he was planning to leave the pulpit and enter politics.

"There is," he said, "an urgent need in America for the application of Christian ethics in government. Politics is corrupt largely because those of us who are interested in clean and progressive administrations refuse to get into the game. We

are content to sit on the bleachers and comment on how the game ought to be played."

I believe that to a large extent my friend is right. A successful government demands that the nation's political offices be filled by the nation's greatest men. Parties, like trusts, are heartless organizations, especially when controlled by men whose personalities are products of the machine which they serve. Such organizations cannot for long command respect and loyalty. Democracy must, it would seem, use its principles for the selecting of wise, noble personages, and place in the hands of such the powers of the state. Around figures noble in character a nation can rally with faith and devotion.

Such a concept comes with the force of a mighty challenge to the young man interested in the Christian religion for if America is to be a Christian nation, then her statesmen must be guided in their legislations by the ethics of Christianity. My friend has seen a vision, a vision of Christian service in statecraft. When many others have seen that same vision there will be a change in barber shop philosophy, for democracy will have triumphed when subjected to its main test:

. . . Its capacity for the wise selection of men—men sufficient in character and wisdom to be trusted with the powers of the state.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

The Church Prophetic

The article by Harry Taylor of West Virginia on "The Church of To-morrow," published in your issue for the first of June of this year brings me also to the confessional. I shall not concern myself particularly with his suggestions of certain economic communities to be created by the apostles of a new social and religious order, but am content to observe that strong as is the appeal of such suggestion to me in a sentimental way I am persuaded for myself that our social salvation is not going to be realized on lines of separation at all. No monasticism of any kind, however disguised or however spiritually motivated, is going to deliver us from the body of this world struggle in the midst of which we are. But I would far rather say God-speed to those who are compelled by the inner urge to make such experimentation than to argue with them as to its practicability.

Nor do I intend to discuss the book by John Haynes Holmes on "New Churches For Old." Dr. Holmes has done us all a service in bringing to the front the tragic failure of our present religious organizations, and the demand for a larger social expression of the religious consciousness.

But I am as skeptical, in a way, of the "community church," as I am of the specialized economic community of the sort suggested by Mr. Taylor, or of the various and sundry kinds tried out with such little success during the last one hundred years.

In the first place is there any such thing as a community church, or is there likely to be within the life of this generation? As to what may be it is well to be modest in venturing any utterance. But certainly there is no such thing now, and there is no present prospect that any such thing will be for the next generation or two.

The "Community Church of New York," for instance, to cite the most conspicuous instance among us, is not really a community church. It does not actually include one per cent of the population of New York, nor even one-tenth of one per cent at the present time. Nor does it voice the majority sentiment of the city, even on religious lines. It aims to serve the community, it is inspired by a fine comprehensiveness of tolerant understanding, and it is gifted in its leadership with men of community wide influence. But it is not the community of New York organized to express the religious life of New York, much less the whole moral life of that city, or the whole body of moral and religious ideals.

Nor is the "community church" in the small town as I have observed it over a wide area the religious expression of the whole community. In communities where there are practically no Roman Catholics or other Catholic bodies represented in the population, and where the number of dissenters from "evangelical" belief and sentiment is non-appreciable, it may be possible to make a show of having one church only for a whole community, and of making it a "community church" rather than the church of this or that particular denomination. But such communities are very rare, and the time-period of any such church is apt to be coincident with the pioneer epoch of the community, and that alone. With the coming of a larger population there will be, almost inevitably, other churches, and the community church itself is almost always dominated by some particular denomination.

Or if the community is under a single economic control, or the control of a singular type of population, the community character of the church can only be maintained by making the church representative of the accepted and commonplace in thought and deed. It cannot voice the prophetic note. And a church which has no prophetic note is hardly a church at all.

An agreement not to say anything of any importance about anything of any consequence may result in the establishing and maintaining of a common religious gathering in a community which has a rarely homogenous population, either Catholic or Protestant. No such agreement has ever been made openly of course, and in most communities where there are community churches such a description of the basis of their fellowship would be resented. But in fact the "Community Church" where it does really seek to speak for the whole community, and is the only religious organization, is more or less consciously based on such an understanding so far as the utterance of anything on which everybody is not agreed is concerned. Liberty of speech there is within the domain of the universally approved, or with regard to novel matters which do not stir up any real concern. But "liberty of prophesying" is the last thing in which the minister of a Community Church can afford to indulge, unless the community is so large as to be in the main unmoved by his utterance, or so small that he has only his own crowd there.

John Alexander Dowie had a real Community Church at Zion City, and a very impressive thing it was at its best I have been told by some entirely competent witnesses. But in the case of Zion City the

church was the community, and the community was the church. And there was no "liberty of prophesying" there except for Dowie and those who agreed with him.

Far be it from me to discourage the Community Church movement, since I most heartily accept it as an advance upon the sort of church life which we have to-day. But let us deal in realities, and let us recognize as one of the realities that as a matter of fact there is actually much more liberty of teaching concerning the most vital issues of our time in some of the sectarian groups than is likely to be allowed in many "community churches." For example a prominent Baptist minister in this State has been very out-spoken against military training in recent days. This testimony he is able to put over because he is "a good Baptist," and as such is allowed by his congregation and by his ministerial brethren a certain freedom about what we may call "extra-territorial" matters which he would not have if he were not one with them in their restricted denominational allegiance. In another State I know an Episcopal clergyman who is socially far more radical than this Baptist minister, but who manages to keep his place in the Church because he is "a good Churchman," and so granted a certain outside immunity. Either of these men would last in a community church which was organized to be the sole religious body of any ordinary community about as long as a California orange orchard in Alaska. Or if they did adjust themselves to the situation it would be at the cost of everything distinctive in their testimony. And the same is true of many another man in the denominational pulpits.

Not until the pressure of economic interest is much less imperious than it is to-day, and not until we have learned in the whole realm of thought a far larger tolerance than any nation has yet known shall we have a community church where the prophet will be welcome. There may come a day when communities will make as much of intellectual investigators and experimenters with new ideas as we are learning to make of "experiment stations" in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, and invention today. But that hour is not yet here. If the "Community Church" can contribute to the coming of such social equality and intellectual liberty as will give our Edisons and Burbanks of the moral and social life their opportunity it will have been immensely worth while. But it is open to question whether in many instances it will not tend to diminish rather than increase freedom of understanding utterance.

Meanwhile I should like to present to the readers of UNITY some suggestions in the direction of another type of "Community Church" than that which is advocated by either Mr. Taylor or Dr. Holmes.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE STUDY TABLE

New Books

Prof. Tinker's articles on James Boswell, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly,* have been reprinted in a book under the title of "Young Boswell."[1] The success of the book was immediate, a second printing being promptly demanded. The leading article actually deals with the young Boswell, who was surely as remarkable a creature as the old Boswell ever came to be. A good deal of a prig, was the Young Boswell, who at seventeen years called upon David Hume with a letter of introduction and then wrote to the introducer—

> Mr. Hume, I think, is a very proper person for a young man to cultivate an acquaintance with; though he has not, perhaps, the most delicate taste, yet he has apply'd himself with great attention to the study of the ancients, and is likeways a great historian, so that you are not only entertained in his company, but may reap a great deal of useful instruction.

At the age of twenty he published "An Ode to Tragedy by a Gentleman of Scotland," which he dedicated to James Boswell, Esq.! He was bound that people should talk of him, either as author or as a patron of letters. The use of the title of this article as the name of his book, apparently determined on after several articles had been written, has a somewhat constraining influence upon our author, who in one of the later essays feels called upon to defend it by asserting that Boswell was never really old, retaining a certain juvenility to the end of his life. Boswell always kept notes, regularly jotting down the details of his experiences and his interviews with the great. Much of this material still exists and it is marked by a curious constant reference to himself in the third person. Thus, in his commonplace book we read:

> Boswell, who had a good deal of whim, used not only to form wild projects in his imagination, but would sometimes reduce them to practice. In his calm hours he said, with great good humor, "There have been many people who build castles in the air, but I believe that I am the first who ever attempted to live in them."

Boswell's great desire in life was to meet the great, the man of the hour, especially in the line of literary or artistic achievement, to be in touch with him, to be seen with him, to be associated in the public mind with him. David Hume was an early name in a long and distinguished list in which Rousseau, General Paoli and Samuel Johnson were conspicuous. No man was ever a better interviewer, no man could better "draw out" his victim, no one could more exactly transfer his manner, his words, his acts. Tinker considers Boswell a genius, and credits him the world's greatest biographer. In his essays our author shows us Boswell almost as Boswell showed us his heroes. The book contains an astonishing amount of new, original, material and reproduces a mass of autographs, portraits and documents that have not before been available. It well deserves the popularity it has enjoyed.

No one is more actively and variously busied in making known the actual condition and the serious achievement of the Negro than Dr. Woodson.[2] As editor of the *Journal of Negro History,* a magazine of dignified and genuine scholarship, as author of various useful handbooks, as organizer of movements tending towards legitimate assertion and proper recognition, he is indefatigable. His new book is in the

[1] "Young Boswell." Chauncey Brewster Tinker. Boston: 1922. The Atlantic Monthly Press. 8vo; pp. (x) 266. Second printing.

[2] "The Negro in Our History." Carter Godwin Woodson. Washington: 1922. The Associated Publishers, Inc. 16mo; pp. xv, 393.

nature of a text-book, suitable for "eighth-grade and high school students desirous of knowing the leading facts of Negro life and history." It is to be hoped that it will reach every colored school in the country. It is perhaps too much to expect that it will be largely used as a *text-book* in white schools, but it should be, in suitable number, in every school library in the United States and live teachers will call the attention of students to it and urge its reading. The book is as important as it is interesting and every American would be profited by its perusal. Starting with a sketch of African conditions as a background, the author follows the Negro on this continent from the time of the discovery and the introduction of slavery down to the present. The course of slavery, antislavery movements, colonization, the Negro in the civil war, the period of reconstruction, the recent development and progress, the Negro in the world war, are all presented in fair proportion and in simple and direct fashion. The author enters into no arguments, makes no apologies, aims simply at facts. He has been industrious in gathering illustrative material and the book contains abundant excellent pictures, including an extraordinary number of good portraits.

The extent to which "tests" are now being used in educational work is sharply brought out by the neat little bibliography just put out by the World Book Co.,[3] in which 294 titles are listed. The tests cover a wide range of studies and of mental qualities—as intelligence, will-temperament, etc. The World Book Company has specialized in this direction and thirty-three of the titles have been issued by them. The bibliography will repay examination, not only by teachers but also by parents who have a real interest in their children's success in life. Some of the tests may be crude and unsatisfactory in their application but they are a movement in the right direction. Together with the "Bibliography" we have received several recent tests, which deserve some words of comment. Of great interest is Lewis' "Scales for Measuring Special Types of English Composition." It is one of the "School Efficiency Monographs." The author makes a thorough study of what has already been done in his field, subjecting it to a critical analysis, and utilizing what good points have been brought out; he then attempts to make five new scales for measuring particular forms of written English—order letters, letters of application, simple social letters, problem letters and simple narration.—"Henmon's Foreign Language Tests" are by the Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Wisconsin. They have been carefully worked out for Latin and French and appear to give a good test of the three ends to be gained by foreign language study—scope and accuracy of vocabulary, translation and a fundamental grammar.—"The Detroit Kindergarten Test" aims to individually test young children who early show marked differences, which must be recognized if the Kindergarten is to get the best results. The test consists entirely of pictures and is simple in application and definite in discrimination. A ten minute interview will give actual assistance.—Dr. Downey's effort to determine will-temperament is interesting. It is an individual test and aims at the determination of innate force, self-confidence, adaptability, power of restraint, patience in detailed work, etc. All this is done through a simple series of markings, writings and judgments calling for no apparatus. A pioneer effort in its field, experience will no doubt suggest some changes in this test.—Stenquist's complete system for determining mechanical aptitude consists of two picture tests and two assembling tests where objects are handled. The picture tests are before us. The idea is really assembling without handling. The pictures are in groups of objects and parts, in two sections side by side. The pupil must make the association or combination and state it. The test seems practical and well developed.—"The National Intelligence Tests" are the outgrowth of considerable effort on the part of a group of our best men. Their results, gained at an outlay of money and effort, repeated trial and elimination, should have permanent value. An outgrowth of the army testing methods, these have been adapted to school needs. They are group tests, easy to give and practical in classifying children in the grades. There are two scales with two forms under each and keys for rapid scoring of results. Further forms under each scale are to be issued.—"The National Intelligence Tests" go only to the Eighth Grade. The Ternan group tests go further, applying to pupils from the Seventh Grade on through the High School. There are two forms each including ten tests. These are for information, best answer, word meanings, logical selection, arithmetic, sentence meaning, analogies, mixed sentences, classification and number series. The author, in his "Manual" calls attention to a variety of interesting facts that may be deduced from a study of the responses given by the students—not the least interesting being the selective influence of school subjects.

FREDERICK STARR.

[3] "Bibliography of Tests for Use in Schools." Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1921. World Book Co. 8vo; pp. 24. Also from the same company—"Scales for Measuring Special Types of English Composition." Ervin Eugene Lewis. 1921. pp. 144. "Henmon's French Tests, Henmon's Latin Tests." V. A. C. Henmon. 1921. "Detroit Kindergarten Test." Harry J. Baker and H. J. Kauffmann. 1922. Manual and Tests. "Individual Will-Temperament Test." June E. Downey. 1921. Manual and Test. pp. 24; 4. "Stenquist Mechanical Aptitude Tests." J. L. Stenquist. 1922. Manual and Tests. pp. 21; 16. "National Intelligence Tests." M. E. Haggerty, L. M. Ternan, E. L. Thorndike, G. M. Whipple, R. M. Yerkes. 1922. Manual and Tests. pp. 35; 8, and sheets. "Ternan Group Test of Mental Ability for Grades 7-12." Lewis M. Ternan. 1922. Manual and Tests. pp. 12.

The Wisdom of the Peoples

IV.

MAXIMS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE
(1772-1834)

Truth still more than Justice is blind, and needs Wisdom for her guide.

Poetry which excites us to artificial feelings makes us callous to real ones.

In the treatment of nervous cases, he is the best physician, who is the most ingenious inspirer of hope.

There is small chance of Truth at the goal where there is not a childlike Humility at the starting-post.

No man can leap over his own shadow, but poets leap over death.

That is the most excellent state of society in which the patriotism of the citizen ennobles, but does not merge, the individual energy of the Man.

—*Selected by James Waldo Fawcett.*

Every heart that has beat strong and cheerfully has left a hopeful impulse behind it in the world and bettered the tradition of mankind.—*R. L. Stevenson.*

A Book a Week

Mary Badollet Powell Memorial

IN RED AND GOLD. By Samuel Merwin. Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"In Red and Gold" is a thoroughly provoking book. It is a strange mixture of good and bad; it promises well from first to last but always just fails to satisfy. Parts of the story are well told in charming and lucid prose; parts of it are childishly feeble. It is, however, far and away better than the average popular novel; and it serves the cause of making China known to the stupid, money-mad, impudent West. The author appreciates the Chinese; he knows what is being done to the Chinese by their exploiters, and he has evidently considered it his duty to protest against the crimes he has witnessed or of which he has heard in the East. This is, I suppose, another variety of "propaganda," but it comes in decent form—it is not thrust down the reader's throat, whether or no. The author has been in China, he has written what he learned there into a story, he does not dogmatize—both sides are treated with complete fairness. But the just reader will incline toward the Chinese, rather than away from them, at the end of the book; because that is how the evidence in the case tends.

Consider these words which Merwin puts in the mouth of a Chinese statesman:

> The sharpest trading it not done in the Orient. That I have learned from a long lifetime of struggling against the aggressions of white nations. During the discussion of the concerted loan to China—you recall it?—they talked of lending us a hundred million dollars, gold. To read your New York papers was to think that we were almost to be given the money. It seemed really philanthropy. But do you know what their left hands were doing while their right hands waved in a fine gesture of aid to struggling China? These were the terms. First they subtracted a large commission—that for the bankers themselves; then, what with stipulations of various sorts as to the uses to which the money—or the credit—was to be put, mostly in purchases of railway and war material from their own hongs at further huge profits to themselves, they wittled it down until the actual money to be expended under our own direction, amounted to about fifteen millions. And with that went immense new concessions—really the signing away of an empire—and new foreign supervision of our internal affairs. For all these privileges we were to pay an annual interest and later repay the full amount, one hundred millions. It was quite unbearable. But what is poor old China to do?

Now, this is no exposition of Merwin's personal opinions; it is a statement of the facts of the matter. Anybody who is curious about it may investigate for himself. In the circumstances, Merwin might well have used much stronger language. China *has* been unfairly treated by the Western nations; everybody knows it, though not everybody admits it.

Of course, Merwin is often more direct. For instance, his "hero" says:

> I have come to feel that it is the one great want in Western civilization, that the philosophy, the art, the culture, indeed, of China has never been woven into our heritage. It is strange, in a way—we derived our religion from certain primitive tribes in Syria. But they had little culture. The Christian religion teaches conduct but very nearly ignores beauty. And then there is our insistent pushing forth of the individual. I have come to believe that our West will seem less crass, less materialistic, when the individual is somewhat subdued. . . We need patience—sheer quality of thought—the fine art of reflection. We shall not find these qualities at their best, even in Europe. They exist, in full flower, only in China. And America doesn't know that. Not now. . . It will take a hundred years to make America aware of China as it is now aware of Italy, Egypt, Greece, even old Assyria . . . and the thing must be freed from Japanese influence—we can't much longer afford to look at wonderful, rich old China through the Japanese lens.

The difference between these thoughts and "propaganda" is just about the difference between philosophic literature and "advertising."

Merwin, too, knows a few homely truths about conditions in his own country. He has his "heroine," a Chinese girl educated in America, say:

> Money is god in America. Pipple don' like to have you say it, of course. But I'm afraid it is true. Ever'thing has to come to money—the gover'men', the churches, ever'thing. I have seen that. That is the hard side of America. I don' like that so well.

A direct statement—a challenge; but who will dare to say that it is not true? And how often in a novel, or in a daily newspaper, does one find such a statement? Not very often, not often enough.

There is a plot—rather a commonplace affair—on which these (and many other) commentaries hang like beads on a silken thread. The avid fiction reader will find what he is seeking, but—more important—he may carry away with him a little of the author's sensitive tolerance of China at its worst and enthusiastic admiration of China at its best.

"In Red and Gold," then, is recommended to those whose knowledge of China and the Chinese is limited to Chinese laundrymen; it is a story which will entertain and also instruct them.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

IRONY.

A man called into the void of night—
"I do not understand, my soul:
I have asked so little of life,
And the world takes from me so heavy a toll!

"I have not wrought with a mal-intent—
I have caused no human pain—
I only ask for a little joy,
A little sun with the rain."

And a Voice came back from the void of night—
"If you asked for a little less—
Or for none at all: if you tried to think
Of another man's distress

"And less of your own. If you up and gave
To life at large, with a lavish hand—
You would find there was nothing to hurt your pride—
And nothing to understand!"

JOSEPH ANDREW GALAHAD.

CORRESPONDENCE

Modern Civilization—East and West

Editor of UNITY:

Dr. Wendte has recently commented in the columns of UNITY on Mahatma Gandhi's condemnation of modern civilization. It may be interesting to your readers to know what Rabindranath Tagore wrote to a friend while he was in this country where he was profoundly unhappy.

"The soul of the West (says Dr. Tagore) is famished and her social life has been wounded to the quick. . . . What makes me feel so sad in this country, is the fact that the people do not know that they are not happy. They are proud like the sandy desert which is proud of its glitter."

To Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Tagore, happiness is not in success, not in bigness, but in truth. To them our civilization lacks truth. "It is a sort of magnifying-glass which makes the most sordid and ordinary things absurdly worth-while and big. Our buildings, business, and amusements are exaggerations like our newspapers, our money bags and our patriotism." The whole world, Dr. Tagore declares, is suffering from that patriotism which disassociates itself from the higher ideals of humanity and which he characterizes as "the cult of Devil worship." He writes to a friend in India:

"They are furiously busy building their towers of political civilization upon the quagmire of mob psychology, spreading over it a crust of deliberate lies. Everywhere there is an antipathy against Asia ventilated by a widespread campaign of calumny. Negroes are burnt alive. Germans are reviled. Conditions in Russia are deliberately misrepresented. These people have to subsist upon a continual supply of hatred, contempt, jealousy and lies, lies, lies!"

If Gandhi and Tagore fail to convince us of the worthless character of our civilization, they may set us to thinking and analyzing our civilization which produced the most awful war in history. Is it strange that the average Indian says we are false to our Christian ideals and that he finds our so-called civilization a not unmixed blessing?

How many of us think soberly of what life in this country is for the many—that is, how many of the type of Dr. Wendte think outside of their own class—I might use the word caste just as well. We are living under a system that has shaped a civilization which permits a general acceptance of the idea that it is right for an individual to exploit another individual, and for a nation to exploit another nation for profit. That this state of things has grown out of the wrong use of *machinery* is more evident to the Easterner than to us here in the West. The machine which should have been the cause of more leisure, more comfort, more culture for the many, has built up a small over-wealthy class of which Fifth Avenue is the exponent. The inadequately-paid, and therefore half fed, poorly educated, badly housed masses labor that this other class (or caste) may live without working. That there is a comfortable middle class here that thinks all America is as well off as it is—does not better the situation in the least. The fact still remains that right here in New York—the richest city in the richest country in the world (as was brought out in a hearing at the Board of Aldermen several years ago), one-fifth of the children are suffering from malnutrition; 2,000,000 children are occupied in gainful occupations in the country while about 5,000,000 men and women are in the ranks of the unemployed; millions of young girls and young men are wearing themselves out in ill-ventilated, dark and dirty factories, that 50,000 millionaires may testify to the "Prosperity" of the country. (We in the West have not arrived at the point where we can see the prosperity of our country registered in happy wholesome human beings.)

This is our "machine-made system." It leads directly to war. Our civilization (?) not only furthers war but glorifies it. It condones lynching. It is a civilization that believes moreover in the inferiority of certain individuals and certain races; it sets its scientists to work discovering more efficient means of destroying human life; it makes money its God and tacitly accepts a caste system founded on dollars and cents. Can the thoughtful Westerner wonder at the condemnation that men like Gandhi and Tagore have pronounced on such a "civilization"?

Is America to wake up—to let itself be taught by men with the understanding and vision of these Indians—or is it to be driven in its ignorance to the brink of destruction where all of Europe is today? We do not want the spinning-wheel any more than the Indians want our civilization. Both are alien—the one to the other people; but we can as Gandhi has said "train up men and women who will use machinery not for the ruination but for the upbuilding of human beings." Then and not till then shall we have a civilization worthy the name.

BERTHA RUFFNER.

29 East 29th St., New York City, N. Y.

Self-Determination

Breslau, Silesia, Sept. 12, 1922.

My Dear Mr. Holmes:—

I am enclosing clipping from a paper which I happened to be scanning this morning. We were much interested to read of your activities at the Peace Conference, away out here, where one hears much more of the East than of America and the West. We have been over near the Polish border not far from where mobs of unemployed are pillaging towns and destroying property in their dissatisfaction over Polish oppression, a region which before it was handed to the Poles contrary to the vote of the inhabitants, was one of the prosperous regions of Europe. Now there bids fair to be only chaos. Wherever one hears of unrest, one finds oppression in one form or another—a denial of the right of people to develop themselves in the things that touch them most deeply. Czecko Slovakia was constructed as the "banner state" of Europe, by the politicians of Europe. It was to be the keystone of the arch of reconstructed Europe. Three or four different peoples were, without their consent, incorporated into it and immense industrial districts were taken over from other countries in order to insure its material strength. Last year when I was there and since I have heard only of the political oppression of Germans, Slovaks and Hungarians by Czecks, who have control of the government. The news of late is to the effect that all the signs of a complete breakdown are apparent—glass factories, textile mills and other industries are closing everywhere throwing thousands upon thousands out of employment with consequent political unrest. In the other countries it is worse. Wherever the "leading" nations of Europe have meddled the result has been chaos. My own opinion is that the entire structure built up by the League of Nations must give way sooner or later and that Europe's condition is going from bad to worse. There are not brains enough in all the "statesmen" of Europe to save the situation for up to this time not one single constructive idea has been put forth by those who pretend to govern Europe. Europe will either be ruined by the excessive expenditures for military measures thought necessary to preserve the political supremacy of the powers that be or a new war will follow just as soon as there is a shift in the present alliances of the big nations.

You are reported as saying that a United States of Europe is the solution. I must disagree with you for I think the solution lies in exactly the opposite direction—decentralization, or self determination of the various races and peoples and permission for each to develop itself without interference from the outside. I do not see how a political combination of European nations into a United States of Europe would result in anything better than the present League of Nations. Nor can I see how it would do away with oppression and exploitation. I do not think that the "13 nations" of our country present a condition analogous to the one here. We are mixed together thoroughly. American traditions predominate everywhere. But suppose in each of our States a predominant race with different religion, tradition, customs, usages and language—all established for a thousand years—do you think that in that case we could be successfully governed from Washington?

Another point on general conditions—there appears to be a tendency throughout Europe to break up the large land-holdings into small farms and also a tendency to abandon districts unfavorable to agriculture. The result of the latter, which is increasing to an alarming extent, is self evident. It means less food. In the former case there appears to be production sufficient for the cultivator where formerly there was a surplus for the market. The urban population will be confronted with a shortage of food and the industrial breakdown will leave it without even means to purchase. In many places I found the farmers refusing to accept depreciated currency and demanding household furniture and clothing in exchange! In a district near here the doctors will receive only food products from farmer patients.

All wish to be remembered to you and trust you had a pleasant and interesting trip. With kind regards.

Yours very truly,

J. C. Z.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

RECOGNITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

What it Means to American Labor.

The refusal of the American State Department to recognize the Government of Russia is delaying the economic revival of all Europe, and thereby prolonging industrial depression and unemployment in America.

Repeated demands by trade unionists and others for the resumption of trade relations with Russia have been evaded with the statement that the American Government does not place any restrictions on trade with Russia. This is only half the truth.

By its present policy of non-recognition and non-intercourse, the American Government is deliberately preventing the resumption of normal commerce between Russia and America.

Modern commerce depends upon an intricate system of communication and exchange, including facilities for rapid and safe transmission of mails and cables and transfer of money. All these facilities are lacking between the United States and Russia because of non-recognition. Trade cannot flow freely without mutual consular representation and all the normal agencies for travellers' passports, ships' clearance papers, certification of commercial documents, etc. The American State Department refuses to restore these essential agencies of trade between Russia and America.

These are but a few of the ways in which both exporters and importers are handicapped in any attempt at trade with Russia. Only the boldest manufacturers will enter into large-scale transactions with a country toward which their own government is openly and avowedly hostile.

Senator William E. Borah says:

"Business men who want to trade with Russia have told me time and time again that they cannot do business with Russia until we recognize Russia. Russia now has trade agreements or recognition with sixteen Governments and the citizens of these Governments are trading with Russia in safety and with profit. Our own business men have made sales through English merchants and have no difficulty in securing satisfactory terms with Russia notwithstanding the Soviet form of Government. No business man whose Government refuses to recognize Russia can do business alongside of the man whose Government does recognize Russia."

Recognition First—Then Trade

It is not enough that the United States has ceased to make war on Russia. It is not enough that the United States has abandoned its blockade of Russian ports. There must be a commercial treaty based on recognition before there can be trade with Russia on a large scale.

Recognition of a foreign government does not mean approval of the form of government or of the policies of its leaders. It means merely the establishment of the ordinary forms of international relations, upon which modern commerce and communication depend.

In spite of propaganda against resumption of trade with Russia, in spite of the enormous obstacles involved in non-recognition, in spite of the absence of normal facilities of trade, American exports to European Russia in the first six months of 1921 rose to $12,114,062, almost double the figure for the previous six months, during which the blockade was still virtually in effect. It is impossible to estimate what that figure might reach under normal trade conditions.

Enormous Trade Possible.

American economists agree that as a potential customer, Russia will, after recovery, exceed any continental European nation, provided foreign monopolies do not foreclose American opportunity for investment and development.

Can America, with its *six million unemployed* workers, afford to stand and look on while the rest of the civilized world establishes closer and closer commercial relations with this vast market-nation—150,000,000 people who stand in need of practically every manufactured article America can produce?

Last year the Railroad Purchasing Mission of the Soviet Government ordered $163,000,000 worth of railway material in Europe. A two million dollar order for tank cars went to Canada. Yet, in a period of general industrial depression, American manufacturers of railway materials are making no sales to Russia.

Germany, Poland, Finland, Persia, Afghanistan, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia have already concluded peace treaties with Russia involving recognition *de jure* and full diplomatic relations. *Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Austria have entered into trade agreements with Russia involving recognition de facto.* China and Mexico have consular representation in Russia.

Only America Refuses Trade.

The whole world is trading with Russia, furnishing her with agricultural machinery, locomotives, rails, cars, tools and all the thousand things she needs to make another famine disaster impossible; receiving in return her furs, timber, petroleum, hides, bristles, asbestos, etc., or getting in return permission to exploit her vast natural resources. The workers of Russia will benefit; the workers of all the countries trading with her will benefit. *Only the workers of America are left out.*

American Trades Unionists, it was the voice of labor that forced the Wilson administration to withdraw American troops from Russian soil in 1919. It was the voice of labor, heard in every land, that put an end to the Russian blockade. Labor's voice must be heard again:

Demand Recognition of Russia!

How you can make your demand felt:

1. Write to your congressman.
2. Get your trade union local to pass resolutions and forward them to Congress.
3. Wherever possible make the matter an issue in local political campaigns.
4. If possible form a committee and organize a mass meeting. You may depend on us for a speaker.
5. Keep us informed of your activities in behalf of trade with Russia.

National Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with the Recognition of Russia.
138 *West 13th St., New York City.*

HIGH CASTE HINDU IN AMERICA TO STUDY PROHIBITION

Tarini Prasad Sinha, a High Caste Hindu, a leader in educational and reform circles in India, a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, is now in the United States to study the prohibition situation.

He comes from Gaya, Behar, of a Hindu (Kshatria) family of land-owners. He was educated first at the Hindu College, now the Hindu University of Benares. This is the first educational institution in India not controlled by the Government. While a student, on Sundays and holidays he was accustomed to go into the nearby villages and on the banks of the Ganges soliciting funds to support the college. Afterwards he traveled all over India with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Vice-Chancellor, to raise funds to help the college transform itself into the First National University.

He next spent two years in the University of Seattle, Washington, where he paid his own expenses by menial labor in spite of the fact that he was a caste man brought up in an Indian home with Eastern notions of comfort and respectability.

He them entered the University of London, but before finishing the war broke out and he volunteered for service in the war. He was turned down by the British authorities and by the British Red Cross because he was an Indian. He then went to France and joined the Femme de France Red Cross Society. He later joined the Indian Volunteer Corps raised by Mahatma M. K. Gandhi in London. He served in Flanders, France, Gallipoli and Egypt. He was invalided in Egypt and returned to India.

On his return to India he became Assistant Organizing Secretary of the Home Rule League, and served on the editorial staff of the official organ of the League, edited by Mrs. Annie Besant.

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Because the Baden-Powell Boy Scouts Association in India refused to admit Indian boys as scouts, Sinha organized the Indian Boy Scout Association which, in several provinces, is now being taken over by the Government.

He made two trips throughout India with Mrs. Besant in the organization of the Home Rule League. The Home Rule League was the fore-runner of the Gandhi Non-co-operation Movement, but the League has now lost most of its power because it is actively fighting the Gandhi Movement. Sinha toured India late in the war enlisting volunteers, but soon abandoned that work because of the Government regulation discriminating against Indians on racial grounds. When Mrs. Besant was interned for some months by the British Government, Sinha, acting as her secretary, shared with her her internment at a house in the Bilgiris.

After Mrs. Besant took to Liberal politics and began opposing the Non-co-operative Movement, Sinha associated himself for a time with Mr. Gandhi at Kaira, Bombay Presidency, in the early stages of the Passive Resistance Movement.

After this preliminary campaign Sinha conducted an expedition in the Himalaya Mountains on Famine Relief Work, a distressing experience. Then he returned to Delhi to take part in the influenza relief work which was sweeping the country. In co-operation with the United States Provincial Social Service League, he organized a traveling dispenser that carried medicines on horseback from village to village. He personally worked with a group of young men collecting dead bodies that the panic-stricken people had left behind in their homes when they fled to other villages. Later he collected a large number of dead bodies that came flowing down or were left on the bank of the Jamme River and performed the burial rites and cremation.

Later at Benares he established his home and inaugurated a Co-operative Silk Factory on a socialistic system. This factory is entirely controlled by the workmen who divide the profits among themselves and it is the first enterprise of this sort to be established in India.

His next enterprise was the founding of a Hindu daily paper called the *Aj* (Today), but he severed his connection with that paper and joined "Pussyfoot" Johnson on his tour of India.

Now he is in America for six months to study the prohibition question for the purpose of making it his life work to establish prohibition in India.

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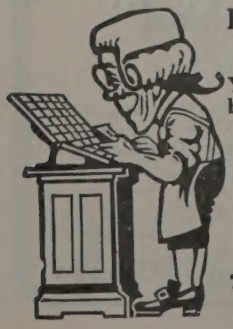

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